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CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women.

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people.

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

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the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above *Nusmāt·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kāmai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kāmai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed to her, which is never done now. The word *kāmai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to translate. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kāmai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

Another supernatural being so far removed from this world that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is *Snínia*. He is the male being whom *Alquntām* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which causes an earthquake. If *Snínia* should lose his grip entirely the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut* dancers.

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cut the organ until one of them brought a salalberry leaf, whereupon the monster, dreading its razor-like edge, withdrew. 539 776 *

The following stories illustrate, better than any description, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these animals.

Not many years ago a certain *Ɂak'lis* was encamped with his wife and child in the Bay of the Thousand Islands, *Alɬukwlákʷ-s*, about two miles above Namu, one of the haunts of *bɔ̓ɟs*. He heard a number of the creatures in the forest behind him and seized his gun, at the same time calling out to them to go away. Instead, the breaking of branches and beating upon tree-trunks came nearer. Becoming alarmed, he called out once more: "Go away, or you shall feel my power." They still approached and *Ɂak'lis* fired in the direction of the sounds. There followed a wild commotion in the forest, roars, grunts, pounding, and the breaking of branches. The hunter, now thoroughly alarmed, told his wife and child to embark in the canoe while he covered their retreat with his gun. He followed them without molestation, and anchored his craft not far from shore. The *bɔ̓ɟs* could be heard plainly as they rushed to and fro on the beach, but only the vague outlines of their forms were visible in the darkness. Presently, though there was no wind, the canoe began to roll as if in a heavy sea. *Ɂak'lis* decided to flee to Restoration Bay, but before he had gone far his paddle struck the bottom, although he was in mid-channel. Looking up, he saw that the mountains were higher than usual; the *bɔ̓ɟs* had, by their supernatural power, raised the whole area so that the water had been almost entirely drained away. They are the only supernatural beings with this power. *Ɂak'lis* jumped overboard into water which reached only to his knees, and towed his canoe to Restoration Bay, the *bɔ̓ɟs* following him along the shore."[1] [823]

This is not the only occasion on which *bɔ̓ɟs* have appeared near Restoration Bay. Within the life-time of the father of an informant, a chief set out with some friends from Kwatna, bound for Namu. They travelled overland to Restoration Bay, thence by canoe, making the journey without incident. When returning, they decided to gather clams on the rocky point of the bay. As the craft shot around the tip of the promontory, they saw a *bɔ̓ɟs* gathering shell-fish. The paddlers backed their canoe behind some rocks whence they could

[1] One of the features which the Bella Coola consider most surprising about this incident is that he did not tread upon the fish which must have been driven into the shallows. [825]

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Ałquntām* gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on. When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow, of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own shamans, grizzly bear, *sniniq*, and wolverine; these three also dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously together in that other part of their life which only shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. The animals know about the actions of human beings and show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example, they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible without understanding the attitude of the people to the animal and bird kingdoms.

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and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ălkın·i-ɣaxnım*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Asaikaiyuts-maxnım*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear·meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Ălquntăm*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-762) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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539 825 of a woman, *Sekakmān·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmān·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmān·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 824 539 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Stselekwaily*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Stselekwaily* was very angry, but could do nothing.

773 Though *Alquntām* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of

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a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Ânilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nusqalät·a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs.

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home.

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years

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773 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did
823 not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Älquntäm*'s
833 intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

> In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death. "Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

773 One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed
[183] down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to
[829] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Älquntäm* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
[103] graphical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait
[226] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs.

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Älquntäm*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Älquntäm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored.

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 196).

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(II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Ălquntăm*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *smnq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded.

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped.

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The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

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Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

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The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness,

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nusḵelusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ălquntăm* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ălquntăm* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ălquntăm*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *ăsḵelusam*, a word connected with *nusḵelusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[80]

[80] This may be a mere rationalization.

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773 777 823 756 [755] Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and immaterial, in tune with *Ălquntăm*'s in the land above. One method of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Ălquntăm*'s own basin. Such feats [551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Ălpălxe-loslaix*.

773 777 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Ălquntăm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mnakais* or *Tătă*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mnakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[21] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[22] As he scours himself, he asks *Mɪnakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Ălquntăm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mɪnakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Mɪnakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mɪnakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [726] [785]

[21] Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently. [515]

[22] The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble. [296] [823] [825]

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife.

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[1] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin.

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as

[1] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

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described, at death the shadow, the body, and a portion of the life, descend to the land below where existence is continued as a ghost. These wraiths are usually termed, *Kołkw"lmx*, "The Earthy Ones," though they prefer the name *Asiutänem*, "They Who Have Become Supernatural." They enter into the lives and actions of the Bella Coola in a way entirely different from that of the elements which go aloft at death. 775

The land of ghosts, immediately beneath the earth, is similar to it. There are trees and bushes, stones, grass, everything as on the surface of the world. There is a river, too, but it rises in the west and flows eastward, contrary to the course of the Bella Coola. The sun that shines below is green and unnatural, giving an ethereal light like that of the moon which, indeed, it is sometimes said to be. The seasons are the reverse of those on earth; when mortals are in midsummer, it is wintertime for ghosts. The fluff which human beings see falling from cottonwood trees reaches the land of ghosts as snow. All earthly springs rise from the river in the land below; they never freeze in winter because they come from a warm region, and the coldness of spring water in summer is the result of coming from a land where it is winter. With the exception of the peculiar light, the only essential difference between the land of ghosts and this world is that food is very scarce in the former; berries grow below, and it is supposed that there must be fish and animals there, but it is common knowledge that residents there are always hungry. 772 775 [823]

The life led by ghosts is similar to that of human beings. They occupy the same type of house as before death, dwell in the same kind of villages on the river bank, wear similar clothes, have similar likes and dislikes, require similar food, and even enjoy the same kind of dances. One old Bella Coola even stated that the ghosts are able to summon supernatural beings from *Nusmät·a* to their *kusiut* rites. It is generally believed that no work is done below, although several of the older people denied this. According to these individuals, a ghost can perform more rapidly and easily whatever tasks he had been 775

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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants. 777

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *okäl*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Okäl*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck. 824 [556] [753]

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *sisaok* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle. 777 787* 823 [785]

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777 * 787 ● 823 The last appearance of such a stone was in Dean Channel, to the father of an elderly Bella Coola, who was too amazed to take advantage of it. As far as could be ascertained, in 1922 there was only one stone which was regarded by the owner as having brought him good fortune. It had been obtained by one of his elderly relatives who died about 1906. This man had been walking beside the Bella Coola River one spring day when he happened to notice a woodpecker perched on one of the posts supporting an olachen net. Without taking his eyes from it, he idly stooped down and threw a pebble at the bird which flew to the bank, lit on a pile of stones, and became one of them. Realizing that here might be the means of obtaining supernatural good fortune, if properly handled, the man watched for some time, then went forward, picked up the stone, covered it with evergreen boughs and wrapped the whole in a strip torn from the white-man's shirt he was wearing. With the axe he was carrying he cut a recess in a tree, put the object in it and covered the hiding place with the original bark. He said nothing about it, but the stone brought him such good luck that he obtained large quantities of everything desirable.

777 823 In later years the man, after replacing the stone in the hole of the tree, went away to Victoria; when he returned, years later, it was still there. By placing it in his box he again prospered in all his ventures. When an old man the owner presented the stone to a relative who still treasures it. It is red, about a foot in length, shaped somewhat like a human figure without arms or legs, but with a prominent navel opening. See Fig. 2. The owner has kept it for years, hiding it even from his wife and allowing no white man to see it. He had been perfectly willing to have photographs taken of most of his ceremonial objects, but declined to permit this to be done with his valued stone, and carefully hid it in a box after showing it. When he wished to use the transformed bird, it was wrapped in his old shirt, together with a small amount of money or what-

[123]

FIG. 2
Lucky Stone

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth.

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ălukwala* or an *ăskankots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures

[1] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

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778 539 latch, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesatche Nose *snusx*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and boxes were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *snaok* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Q̓apdxs*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Snuwals*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nukilā-xta*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 539 (9) Mount *Nusḳalst*, the highest mountain in the Bella Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the beginning of time it was a man.

● 823 103 He, *Nānalskwitl*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He stalked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nusḳalst*, wearing a high hat around which crawled two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *Xpis* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nānalskwitl*

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Thisla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them.

Nänalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nusqalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Naskmidjaste*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sqalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material.

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalskwitl* and *Thisla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. VI.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected.

(11) *Allsmost*. An unidentified spot where a *smaaq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *axpalam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snabli* and *Tăl·ic*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name.

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Bella Bella man was fishing when a salmon jumped into his canoe and died at once, without the usual flopping and struggling. The fisherman took it home and ate it, though his wife refused to touch it, as being uncanny. Presently the man's lower jaw became diseased and he lost his teeth. The salmon must have been a *nusiut*.[1]

The mere sight of a *nusiut* does not bring the misfortune which follows the killing of one by foulty means. On the other hand, if slain in the proper manner great good fortune will result. One method is to put a stick near it in the water, whereupon the fish will jump ashore and flop around, shedding its scales. The hunter should then kill it and, crouching down, say:

"I wish I had a salmonberry leaf, or a piece of dead alder."

Each of these has always existed. [illegible] in his right hand behind him, whichever he has asked for will be there, though no one knows how it comes. Then he must cut the fish lengthwise into two parts, throw away the right half and the head, wrap the left in his cape,[2] and run from the spot, taking care to go neither up nor down hill. Soon a landslide will take place, sweeping away the ground on which he has stood, even though it be level. He must hide the half *nusiut* in a hole in a cedar tree for one year without saying anything about his treasure. During this period he must not hunt or embark on any other important enterprise.

When the year has elapsed he may tell the people of his experience and sell tiny fragments of the *nusiut* for large sums. The purchasers wrap these fragments in cedar-bark and with them dash fish-weirs and traps, thus attracting animals and fish. A man obtaining a *nusiut* in this way can show his children where it is concealed, and so transmit his power to them.

THE CATCHING OF A *Nusiut*

Not many years ago, a certain *Owäte-l* constructed an ocean salmon-trap below Kimsquit. One moonlight night he saw in it a white, gleaming salmon and at once jumped to the conclusion that it was a *nusiut*. Being a wild, reckless fellow, he determined to try to obtain supernatural good fortune from his prey, though he was ignorant of the proper procedure. Waiting until the receding tide had almost laid bare the floor of his pen, he leapt down from the weir and clubbed the salmon to death, heedless of the scales which it was shedding in all directions. Then *Owäte-l* cut it

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[1] It appears that the fisherman was a victim of sympathetic magic, in consequence of which his teeth were extracted by a dentist, but the patient is convinced that his misfortunes are due to the salmon which entered his canoe.

[2] The left of anything is said to be more valuable than the right because when a man dresses it is the left side which is nearer the sun.

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sea. At the Moon's invitation, *Xɛ̀mɛ̀ɛsaw-a* built his own fire in the house and settled there, never returning to earth.

On one occasion *Xɛ̀mɛ̀ɛsaw-a* attacked *Kɛ̀mai-ɛ*, the supernatural woman to whom all mortals are as slaves. She lived in some distant, uncertain part of the upper regions, or perhaps on this earth. He defeated her and pulled off her ears, but when he threw them into the water they caused it to boil and seethe so that his canoe was almost swamped. He threw out his supernatural salmon to quiet the waves and thus escaped. At that time the dead lived in *Kɛ̀mai-ɛ*'s house, and *Xɛ̀mɛ̀ɛsaw-a* rescued his deceased mother from near *Kɛ̀mai-ɛ*'s gigantic hat. Then he set fire to the woman's house and sent her down to this earth, where she was turned into stone.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED A BEAR[27]

Long, long ago, but after the first people had come to this earth, a woman who was out gathering berries lay down and slept on the ground. When she awoke she found that she had been lying on bear droppings and in her annoyance she cursed the one responsible for them. But bears have extraordinary powers of hearing, and the offender heard her remark and was angry. He assumed the form of a man and went to her, asking, with many profane expressions:

"What do you mean by swearing at my droppings? Defecate and I am certain you will find mine the better."

The woman did as she was bidden, while the bear-man watched her. Determined to outdo him, she managed to substitute some goat's grease for her own excrement without his observing her. When he saw it he admitted that he was out-matched and said:

"Come home with me."

This she agreed to do. As mountains are really hollow, he lead the woman inside one, where she realized for the first time what her lover was, for he introduced her to his bear-wife. The two received the woman in a kindly fashion and prepared what they said was spring salmon, though in reality it was skunk cabbage. To the chagrin of her host, the guest refused it, whereupon he inquired what she would like. Looking around she saw some cohoe salmon which, at her request, was roasted for her; on this she made a hearty meal. That night she slept with the bear-man.

Meanwhile the woman's family was greatly alarmed at her long absence and scoured the woods in vain for her. Her four brothers in particular sought diligently, but at length even they gave up in despair, concluding that she was dead. The morning following her introduction

[27] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 111.

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out that he wants someone to tie up his neck, and, after the usual delay, an uninitiated lad is brought forward for the purpose. The carpenters help him to manipulate the rope, and in reality do the actual tying although they disguise the fact. Then four or five *kukusiut* seize either end and begin to tug; X cries out as if in pain, the whistles sound, and the women drone. It is most impressive. Finally the head is pulled from the body and falls to the floor, while the apparently headless and lifeless body of X sinks down in the direction taken by the head. Blood and raw flesh are in evidence and the weeping of the women readily convinces non-members that they have watched the decapitation of the dancer. Sometimes the uninitiated themselves are allowed to pull the rope.

The ritual throughout the night is identical with that already described for the Stomach-Cutting dance. The spies guard the doors, refusing egress to all, the mourning women sing their songs, the puppets ascend to the land above and are inserted into X on their return. At intervals groups of the uninitiated are told to come forward; they circle the fire sunwise and see that X's head is lying apart from his body, with the blood and flesh and the severed neck visible. Towards dawn[11] hidden strings are fastened to the head and it is drawn slightly towards the body. One of the marshals calls out:

"It moves! It moves! Do you see it?" and a herald answers:

"We see it move."

The slow movement is continued until the uninitiated, who make periodic inspections, are able to say that it has almost rejoined the trunk. As the first glimmer of light appears in the east, one of the carpenters bends over X and takes the opportunity, while he conceals the dancer's body with his own, to hide the false head beneath his blanket; at the same time X stretches his own head up from under his blanket. The subterfuge is not evident to the uninitiated.

[11] The passage of time at night is judged in villages on the coast by the height of the tide, or the movements of stars; the latter is also practised in the inland settlements. If the stars are hidden, an estimate is made by the number of fire logs burnt through since sunset.

595 ✓
796 ✓
[805]
[821]
[823]

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Snínia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Snínia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Snínia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Snínia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ällibaläxlaix*.

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mintlato·smm*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsäl*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Tsäl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nəbusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

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sialʃiyuktemisandax | *Tlaowika'lis* | *Ṫixilqilsumälsandax*
all, everywhere, know of | *Tlaowika'lis(ee)*. | They(*ff*) crossed repeatedly

yas aldutewätsudax
to *Tsewat(gg)*.

(*a*) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Qowi*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(*b*) That is: Why has my son died?

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Referring to the dead son.

(*e*) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(*f*) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(*g*) *Tlakwakila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(*h*) *Tlakwakila* came in the form of a raven.

(*i*) Referring to *Qwinae*.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Qwinae*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(*k*) Meaning Raven.

(*l*) The mother of *Qwinae* who had died several years earlier.

(*m*) The theme now changes as if *Qowi* were addressing *Qwinae*.

(*n*) Referring to *Qwinae*.

(*o*) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Qwinae*'s origin myth. [776] [821]

(*p*) The theme changes again from direct address to *Qwinae* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history.

(*q*) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(*r*) That is: That was what *Waäkis* brought. *Waäkis*, another of *Qwinae*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Goose Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Waäkis* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(*s*) This song has three third parts.

(*t*) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(*u*) Referring to *ux-wuaisa*, another of *Qwinae*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(*v*) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(*w*) More specifically, the coarse, long breast feathers.

(*x*) *ux-wuaisa* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(*y*) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(*z*) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Qwinae*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

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(*h*) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(*i*) The reference is to another of *Sinuzet!*'s myths dealing with the coming to earth of *Hamcat* near Kimsquit. *Nunuqsmāls* was the name of his house. 533*

(*j*) Referring to Goose Island once more.

(*k*) That is: Goose Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(*l*) Referring again to Goose Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Alquntām* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Wāāks* settled there as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(*m*) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yeālos of Kimsquit(a)

A	*Yenoolsandax*	*wa!walɬndat!*	*sāhxwaixlsndai*	*disonx̱ʷsudai*
	It is good(*b*);	our(*c*)?	has lifted	the sky(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Qāqwaxqwisandai(e)*	*disiutsudai*	*skāaiyaldumdai*	*dinulɬniktāsdai*
	He was Raven(*f*),	the supernatural one	when he descended	the post(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C	*Snuqwla·xlisndai*	*distālɬumxdai*	*yeyālosdai*	*sāliplisdai*	*siāsxwilākleixs*
	He is bright(*h*),	the chief	*Yeālos*;	he carries	a unique

dilāliās·udai
copper(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(*b*) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the crest of *Yeālos* with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765] [152]

(*d*) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden.

(*e*) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(*f*) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the first ancestors of *Yeālos*.

(*g*) Meaning one of the posts which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(*h*) This refers to *Yeālos*. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shines out brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(*i*) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

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*539 into a mist which so utterly blinded and confused Lake-Swallower that he was forced to abandon the pursuit. Without further difficulty the four sisters reached home, where they were received with great rejoicing, especially when their friends heard of the dangers through which they had passed.

THE SUN'S CAPTOR

*539 821 Long, long ago, a woman was sitting on the ground with her back to the sun, who noticed her. He came down and rubbed his hand over her back, causing her to become pregnant, then went back to his station above. The child grew so rapidly that the woman bore a son before the usual period had elapsed. This little boy grew with phenomenal rapidity. One day he asked his mother if he might go up to see his father, and when she consented, he built a long ladder up which he climbed until he reached the land above. When the sun drew near, his son spoke to him, saying that his mother had allowed him to come up to see him, and suggesting that he bring her on a later visit. The father agreed and the boy descended to his mother on earth.

A few days later, when the lad and his mother climbed above, the sun disregarded them entirely, and continued his course without seeming to be aware of their presence. Angry at his father's callousness, the lad asked his mother to give him a pubic hair with which to make a noose to catch the sun.

"Don't be silly," she answered. "The great heat will burn it."

Her son persisted until she finally gave him a single hair from between her legs. This he rolled into a rope with a noose at the end, and hung it from a stick in the course of his father. When the sun came along he was fairly caught in the noose. Thus restrained, he could no longer shine on the earth; the people were filled with wonder, though they were rather thankful, as heretofore there had been perpetual summer.

"It is your son who has caught you," said the boy to his captive father. "You thought yourself too strong. The people down below do not want you to shine all the time; if I release you, you must hide yourself at regular intervals."

The sun agreed to do this. Then the lad untied the noose and the captive went off in his wonted path. To regulate his father's movements, and to ensure his remaining at a safe distance during the winter, the lad raised high mountains at Kimsquit, Ulkatcho, and Legue, which still limit the sun's course. [823]

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*192 *Älximan·a*, "Left Foot": *Snux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Älximlaix: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *älxmutl:* Dentalium-shell.

älxwale'ax, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] [881] *älxwam:* Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

älxwola: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Älxwolämm: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

älxwpaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] *ämät:* Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[601] *ä'mätälaxk:* Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

ämätax: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *ämätuts:* Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

ämkpis: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sätlia*.

[825] *äml:* Spring salmon.

ämlta: Spring salmon house.

Ämläklis: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Ämläklis: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

ämlämkum: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Änähsullänämlaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snuisli*.

[575] *änänuikx* or *ziänuikx:* That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

änätsiutl: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *änäxwolast:* Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Änilxsaix, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Änokokwäls: Cave near Dean Channel.

Änolxmdimut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Tlitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Äno'likwolxaix: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Änotähkmots: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Tlitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[756] [823] *änoxom:* Swift running water.

änlhmtsänäm: 1—Ranks of ordinary inidviduals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *nusuk* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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Anudakanuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănukăldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Ănukao-lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Anukululsiaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
aqukiildk's: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death. [825]
Anukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk.
aqukitsk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kănăn-i* dance.
Anukkălnam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anukpmaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
anulkatl: Nose-ring. [301]
ănultnănk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]
Ănulxwam: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
Anumntiknm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Ănunitsktnm: *Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too* much power from *Ttitcăplilan-a.*
ănunuqwn: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic.*
anuonai: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]
anuposlsam: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]
Anuputsdilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
aquqpalnam: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Anuqpmlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sătlia.*
Anuqplălaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smoaun* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
aququnusam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
Anuqwaatniknm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Anusaiksiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *sxsiutl.*
2—Method of killing practised by *sxsiutl.*
Anusaiksaixsaix-ăls: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Anu-shaxătlnm: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
anunka'alxăknus: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *sxsaok* rites on alternate nights. [424]
Ănuskiknm, "The Saviour": One of *Ttitcăplilan-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ănuskumthm: One of the first men to settle at *Tăl-io* in the beginning of time.
ănuskumnuy: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Anuspumm-alx: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Anusy: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
anuspaiwtsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *sxlaxink*, q.v. [198]
Anuxyalaix: One of the first women to settle at *Sĭskiut* in the beginning of time.
Anuxvklămdimut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ănuxtux: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna. [342]

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Ashlu: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
askma: Position between two fires.
as·iatl: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1]
as·maius: To teach.
aṣ·maiusamkil': Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family.
Aṣqamks: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
aṣ̌wxwa: *Sisaok* song in slow time.
astakin: 1—Box, *archaic*; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
astas: Rocky Mountain jay.
ăsḥxwsil: Carved house post.
Astalnexkl: Wife of *Swaky*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
astcaxink: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Aswiswinaiuts: Expedition of the supernatural being *Winwina* against berries and fish.
Ăs·ganam: *Smaoun*'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
asqmsaxta: Only sister in a family of several brothers.
aṣ": Seals.
asxwaltom: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
ătaqwip: Fir.
Ătat·iaiut: Evil male supernatural being.
a·ima: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized.
2—Dead.
aimak": Kingfisher.
ajsi: Fish-hook.
Ătskam, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above.
atskmos: *Kusiut* spy.
atsḳutl: *plural, anătsḳutl; vocative plural, anătsḳiaotl:*
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Ăṭlhk: *tsimy* village.
Aya: *Stuwx* man mentioned in an ancient story.
aya·kendjut, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means *omen.* It is the Kimsquit variant of *a·wendjut.*
a·wendjut: Omen of death.
Ăyut·i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatsa.
2—Artificial mound at *Tăl·is.*
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Ăyut·i nas Wawalxuks, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
ayuxw·i: Varied thrush.

[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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kulkamut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431] [584]

Kulslakmidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above.

kumai·t: Good-bye. [576]

Kunkunälpstus, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winwina.*

kusiotem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.

kusio·tem: Said to be identical with *sälukwalas,* the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]

kusiut: plural, kukusiut; vocative, kusiaot; vocative plural, kukusiaot: [575]
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season.
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]

Kusiyot: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.

kusłao: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

kusłiyum: Orphan.

Kwai'hila'yokwa: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Kwa·sla: Smith Inlet.

Kwakwak'la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

kwa·kwaa·s: Merganser. [825]

Kwakwaasilotl: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuxʷ.* [763]

kwakwa: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.

Kwalais: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Kwalakms: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Kwale·tstsmut: Kusiut name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

kwal·i··l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

kwali: Evergreen bough. [824]

Kwalsäni: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

kwaqwai: One of the sculpins.

Kwasta: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.

Kwat·inał·a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

Kwathnuxiwa: Man who came to earth near *Stuxʷ* in the beginning of time.

Kwe·tswa: Kimsquit woman.

Kwilais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Kwitnas: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

Kwinas: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Kwilaxłalis, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Kwla: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxałxłt* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wiłkwa·ekwła.*

Kwlilas Nuxkumpta: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

kwlwałxłikw·ais: Lullaby.

kwoi·yais: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

kwdi: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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[825] *Lāklāklis:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
lā·kts: Squirrel.
Laqwomais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Q̇emqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Laxaiyao·k':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'q̇ix: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalāmsk: Sisaok name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snuiɔli* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalemkila.*
Lalemkila: Another name for *Twalālit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilitwumlaix:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *lip̣djuditls:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *lisdjut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *lisliwadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
listomax: Wrestling or shoving.
lilstom: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lo·qwa·t: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
lulusta: Mask.
luta: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łākwakila: Tcawat man living in the beginning of time.
Łālaiuks: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *łalia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Łāliaaiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Łāliaelotl: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Łāliāhs: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sātlis,* in the beginning of time.
Łāliākdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Łāliāks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Łāliāmx: Sisaok name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Ālq̇ālāsl* in the beginning of time.
Łāliāxas, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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nixobaxta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixpi: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmulg or *nmulgdmut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

nmmmk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nnixwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noakila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Noakynm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtaxaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolcista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolxakta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomnak: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nonodjonoistem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'onatlim: 1—Ceremony at which *susaok* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No-qwna, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyakam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlxikultam: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyas: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nualuismm: Synonym for *Noakynm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'aas, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuapsulta: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth. [821]

Nucicaqas: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [769]

nudak-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead.

nudak-an du ilumsta: 1—High tide. [823]
2—Long life.

nudjiqosta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'eqmaq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuxkmalsaix: Synonym for *Sximsximlt,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nupal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nuhamlimaxnam: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukaoas: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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*192 *nulwinuts:* Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large cone-shaped *nusek* whistle.
[534] *Nulxa·ltl:* Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulxa·lul: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulxyaikwaw·c, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Necleetsconnay.
nu'nxqulaix: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[823] *Nuwaisa·x: ustâmx* village.
Nuwâlult, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuxâlk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuxâlkmx:* Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuxem: Kusiut name of a *Stuix* man.
Nuxem: Name of a female composer.
Nuxkmâlaix, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nuyux: Light.
Nuxim: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuximâllaix: Q!'aqa name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuxmalmmân·a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxtânk:* Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxtimut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtnutsta:* Cross-piece which holds open mouth of olachen net.
Nuxwâlst: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] [425] *nuxwolânkmm:* Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *Nuya:* Mountain near *Stuix*.
nuyâlxikâmut: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.
Nuyel·alaix: One of the first women to settle at *Tâl·is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yen·ixim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alpum: Kimsquit term for *o'alk, archaic.*
'O·l': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] [262] *okâl:* Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
Okâpmx: Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olâlimut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
olx: 1—The *kusiut* peerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, *adjective.*
Olxân·i: Kusiut name of a *Stuix* man.
Olîliyaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] [264] *Olxlâmut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
'omâtulik': Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. [192*]
Saiyndz: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
salalsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa-lkaltamm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa-lpsts: Cannibalistic incubus. [25]
sa-lpstmm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
salliskelimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
salukwalz: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
saml: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sanoltymuhelz Alquntem: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunuzmulelx: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sanutlem or *Sanutlemdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusdalst* as chief.
Sanuximaxutz, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuie* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sdux; vocative, sdtai; vocative plural, sdu.xme-lz: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa-tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sdtlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sdzlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa-lma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
saludz: Whetstone, *archaic.* [412]
Sa-tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river. [101]
Sa-tshamx: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satskwal-a: Raft.
Sa-tsmnan-i: Shaman's name acquired from Death. [573]
sawa: Pillow.
sawadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sayi, vocative, sayinas: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sayinas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story. [824]
sazkam: Bracken. [823]
sazwdnas: Tide flats.
skeljulk: Heart.
Sdnuskamm: That part of *Sesyu* which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Semkaut: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Semsiutaw-i: Part of a peculiar repository.
semumkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
su'mtsta, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sxukwalxem: Leader of musicians. [821]

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmân·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilaxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siâlamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsalânl: Echo.
Saxsexkêlaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Saxsexqwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ttitcaplilân·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siâlxelâx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
[825] *Siaqam,* "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sidâxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
Sidakaos di Ano'likwolsaix, "The Coming of *Ano'likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
sinsila: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'isialitl,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third month after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'ilkiukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'ixikam,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sinmt,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Skaaml,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Skalamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *nsaok* rites.
Sikilikmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sikulx,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwuldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siksm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
[827] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
[761] *sinaxgme'ax: Nsaok* head-dress.
[805] *sininits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
si·nipodjoxstmax: Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpicus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[726] *Sinomwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
Sinulkemitl, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunkalâlsm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Senq'mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
Septes: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
sɔɬɔlɛxwus: Scalp.
sɔqwalakł': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixɬaxymmăn-a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spanhăilnaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spăniista: Temporary camping-place.
Spatcalał, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spałki: Star.
sɬakus, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spependoux: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
sɬiłɬikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
sɬikta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Sɬiɬiɬsinăn-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spł'xuunsta: Island west of Namu.
spkx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smnɥ* with female organs. [824]
spoxălicus: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'ɬs', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Sɬskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Ɬemɥo-ts;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
sɬła: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputy: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhelloix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nuxɬalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxyă'mpdimut: *Sisaok* name of *Xusais* origin.
Spuxpuxts: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqăl-a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqaolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqăɬts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sɬałst or *sɬałstust:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nuxɬalst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316] [103]*
sqama: 1—Chest.
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqaml: Land of Ashes. [584]
sɬaxusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
sɬełs: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatxdu: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sɬenaw: Flood.

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skaqalitw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Skē'tzem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
skuq': That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Skūsma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [573]
2—Sleep, intangible *basiut* prerogative.
skūsnatm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Skqumsthustūwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sk-pē: Shadow.
skūqumus: Hammer, *archaic*. [412]
skūsu: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
skūtmalyu: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
skūtu: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
skūy: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
skūtz: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
skūtzem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
skūtzk: Caribou. [832]
skūtzs: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [828]
Slhmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares.
slhmsta or *slhmstnalu*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
slhmstaliktsta: Body.
slhmstnalustm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Slkwaxwkuimtx-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Slkwaxwkuxsum: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
slkūa: Mountain goat grease. [824]
slkūlya: Castor.
Slqūsi, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Slsūla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
slsmūs: Octopus. [825]
Slsnaūnlus: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
slsqusma: Red rock paint.
slsūa: Singer's baton.
slxulk: Text. [823]
slūlx-psus: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
stsūlx: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stsus: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
stutxum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stumaūlk: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
snkwulē: Black raspberry. [824]
sudzw: Ocean.

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Thqumquist: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion. [825]

tlukuddzut: Sardine.

Tlitmenutkkla, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water monst.

tlitmutz: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house. [825]

tlmu: Mountain goat sinew.

Tlnla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Snux* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nuqkalst*, when in human form at the beginning of time.

Tlnuqkilite-a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans. [825]

tlnuts: Sea-lion.

Tlnutsdimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

tlod: 1—Moon. [821]
2—The month.

tlokulp: Virulent skin disease. [825]

tlopta-i: Cormorant.

Tlupa-ai, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tlupuis, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.

tlpa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.

tlpamp: "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances. [823]

tlpapalum: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets. [415]

tlulut: Water-tight basket.

tmina: Water-washed stump with smoured, radiating roots. [824]

Tnlqa: Region on the upper Kitlope River. [482]

tnlsut: Tump-line.

tnlu: Navel. [825]

Tokuld: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.

toqa: Mink.

tsmidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

tsp-a: Synonym for *dzamdzamtsmun*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone. [583]

tspitsa: 1—Fawn. [825]
2—*Nuxtokmy* name of a Kimsquit woman.

Tpikuz: Star in the Great Bear. [821]

tsuqs: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

Tyeeuthu, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Talio*. [291]

tzutlud: Hat with flat top and broad brim.

tzuiz: Snowcrop.

Tzutzulub: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

Tzu-kmut: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

Tzulin: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Tzul: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Tzuulmuxw: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

tzu-k: Green hairseales on water-covered stones. [825]

tzuz: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the house of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the house of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

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772 [715] who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no return.

The upper heaven is called Ata'ats., or Sauex·ak·s'lo ti Sinex·'aix, or Sinexaux. Omq'o'mkilik'a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called Qoma'lis, or Tsi·sinaxaix. ("our woman"), or Ek·l'yak·tamna·s'is. ("afraid of nothing").

772 776 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsi.ne'inas ti Sinex·'aix. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the o'nias or xiaitsaik'sam. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 45, 66).

773 823 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height. They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qoma'lis made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yelyula'ns, which is situated near Nu.la'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Sta·x·a'kmal'i.; the other one, Na'ats. The former had a fire, called Smaxal'k'aimaxs, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qoma'lis made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qoma'lis was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T'lkas." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Sta·x·a'kmal'i. It is said that Qoma'lis visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 776 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sinex·, stands the house of the gods. This house is named Nauma'ts (the House of Myths), or Nauk!aualaxal'a'xas ("where man was created"), or Nauk·a·ma·s'mais ("the house from which people come down"), or Nauqilaxal'a'xas ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Na.ma'k'as. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K!ves'ameis, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Hamamalt'sis spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kl'ûsut song refers to these duties:—

[illegible]

("My child perished like the sky when it broke
On its K!ves'ameis of the sky, my child!
Children are born, my child!
On down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'wâk!'is, or Qaek!'is, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far west a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Ax!q!âmaxsta. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Saxsk!qaik'mstsa," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears.

In the ocean lives a being called Sisiutl, who drives every day swallowing the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kl'ûsut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various kinds of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (k!ek!k!ak!'aes). It is called Asiatl'aem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with stony stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their hands. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform

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their kā'ōsa. It is just below the hearth-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four doors. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed to the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Aoxsi'lxoxsa'ti'x. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heavens, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heavens are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 41).

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The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Sta'lem. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Q!ayā'xtsa lived at Q!ā'xmpsis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Q!ayā'xtsa entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Sta'lem. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take many slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink answered, "I am glad that you are speaking,